Surára
Pakidái

/16 cont./

484 season, or in case their banks are steep, a tree trunk is simply
491 laid across as a footbridge. To cross small rivers, for example, the Rio Deminisinho, a left tributary of the upper Aracá which empties into it one kilometer beyond the Cachoeira dos Índios, the Surára even use a regular bridge. The Rio Deminisinho is 38 meters wide at the place where it is crossed, and on either side
499 there are steep banks eight meters high. The bridge, which was built here during the summer, when the riverbed was relatively shallow, consists of 12 crossed tree-trunks 12-14 meters long, which were rammed into the riverbed. Over the places where they crossed, two thinner trunks were laid next to each other and fastened with liana lashings. At the projecting ends of the supporting posts, lianas form a sort of railing. Since they hang very loosely, however, they can scarcely offer a grip. To secure the bridge, both ends have been additionally anchored to thick trees by means of lianas. Because of this, the construction looks like a hanging bridge at first glance. Since it is one meter higher than the banks, however, small rung-ladders 60 centimeters wide are attached at either side and fastened with liana lashings.

484 While I always had to fight with great difficulty to keep my
491 balance in crossing this and other tree-trunk bridges, the Indians,
[481] men, women, and children, always strode across effortlessly, even when they were carrying a great deal of baggage. This may be connected with the fact that they hardly place their feet outward at all, so that one might almost believe them parallel (Ill. 17) (59).

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59. There are similar accounts by Crevaux with regard to the Oiana /Oyana/ (Rukuien /Rucuyen/, Roucouyennes). The investigator sought the reasons for this and believed he found them in the pelvis. The white women, too, he said, more than the men, walk with their feet placed inward, because their pelvis is wider. On account of the foot position, he concludes that the Indians also have a wider pelvis (Crevaux, 1875, p. 255).

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These bridges are nothing new, for they were already mentioned in similar form by Alexander von Humboldt from the Raudal de Guaharibos (60). An absolutely classic description of

60. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 111, 112, 119.

this method of construction observed among the Guaharibo is given by Chaffanjon: "Finally, toward half-past four in the evening we discover a sort of lake with a rayol, at the end of which some branches, regularly placed across the stream, attract our attention; planted between crevices in the rocks, they form a foot-bridge. For constructions of this type, the Indians wait until the river is very low. They look for branches or young trunks of single growth, such as are often encountered in the forest. The thickness varies from 12 to 15 centimeters in diameter, the length differs according to the depth of the water. The posts which we examine do not exceed four meters in length; they are, like all the branches, either broken off or burned; none bears any trace of ax or knife. The supports in an X, set at intervals, have their forks joined by cross-pieces both at the lower part and at the upper part. The whole is firmly fastened with very resistant lianas. In order to make the supports planted in the crevices or between the rocks more secure, they are tied to trees along the bank, which gives them the appearance of a hanging bridge. The Indians walk along the two lower cross-pieces and use the upper one as a handrail" /translated from the French/ (61). Such bridges

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61. Chaffanjon, 1889, p. 311 and illustration, p. 309.

are further documented by Koch-Grünberg for the Taulipáng (62)

62. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 78 and Ill. 6.

and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

● [499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

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574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

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One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

000

722 /152 cont./ One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 [721] Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/; "Jaiyeota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 721 578 [164] [361] The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 578 837 Another incident of friction was that a young man from Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband. When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

He told us that the

499 building of their crude bridges is a lengthy and laborious business and quite impossible when the river was in spate.

123 We returned to the river to find that those we had left behind had removed the boats to a safe distance—a wise precaution, since it was desirable not to excite the greed of the natives. Many an expedition, we knew, had failed through being looted because this elementary precaution had [648] been overlooked. Furthermore, such incidents can lead to serious conflict, as Cardona had learnt on more than one occasion. When dealing with such primitives, caution, good humour and nursery diplomacy are the essential safeguards.

As we pressed on up-river other Waikas hailed us from the banks. We did not stop, nor did we make any presents of *manioc*, knives and machetes to those who followed us, running through the undergrowth, and gesticulating and shouting as they ran. We spent the night in the shelter of a rocky island they could not reach.

The Guaharibo Rapids

123 By now the river's width was no more than a hundred and 133 fifty yards. Though its course no longer wound as it had, the current was no less strong. Rocky banks that plunged steeply into the water and boulders across the river-bed created violent currents and our engines had to go full out to give us the least headway. If the water had been low we should have been able to pass only with the greatest of difficulty. We passed through one such rocky race which Butrón said was the Guaharibo Rapids. Actually they were the Yamaraquin Rapids marked on Hamilton Rice's map and characterized by a huge pyramid-shaped reef. Butrón called the rapids, where we intended setting up Base Camp 2, the Waika Rapids, distinguished, so he said, by a group of islands of rock and sand, of which two were comparatively large. These were mentioned by both Rice and Dickey, who called them the Gua- [131] haribo Rapids. Rice gave their precise position as Latitude 2° 18' 18" N., Longitude 64° 38' 46" W. We arrived there at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th.

484 152 The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

484 221 629 132 Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

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323 TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very [562] easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[165] [2]Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[361] [3]The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.